The Czech-Slav Trades Union Commission in Prague and The Central Committee of the Czech-Slav Social democratic Labour Party in Austria to the International Congress of Copenhagen.

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The Conflict between the Czech and the German Trades Unions in Austria

We must not judge of the development of the labour movement by the increase and growth of organised members, but also by their absorption and their steady and systematic work. The fact that the working-class instead of criticising takes an active part in the work, has the more effect, the more powerful the organisations are. Naturally practical activity produces many opinions regarding the tactical and organisation processes, whether in England, France, Germany of Italy, or even in Austria. But in spite of the theoretical battles, and even serious collisions at Congresses, Conferences and also in organisations, the one socialist principle is always followed, which as a guiding idea is common to workingmen throughout the world.

Such contradictions which arise here and there, only prove that the labour movement is a result of certain conditions and is not guided by any sort of dogma, but only sees its success in the free ex-

change of opinion. Conditions call forth and elucidate opinions and not the opposite. As in other States, if perhaps in different ways, the development of the movement brought with it formal or organising, differences of opinion, or even differences of principle, so is it also with Austria. It is true that these are not differences of principle, but differences as regards organisation, which will perhaps be put before this Congress for solution, although we doubt that they can be solved here, in a manner which will not be detrimental to either party. For these are differences which do not arise from the development of the movement, but from the geographical, ethnographical and principally from the various economic divisions of Austria as an empire of which it has been said with truth that it is an empire of impossibilities.

And it is only possible to judge of the tactics and the organisation forms of the labour movement in Austria, if one has an accurate knowledge of its economic, political and educational conditions.

And only for the reason that the trades unions commission in Vienna, representing the Austian trades unions, has decided to put this inner quarrel before the Congress of Copenhagen, that we take up our pen to inform the international labour congress of the true state of things.

What is it all about principally? It is a quarrel which came to a head after the Amsterdam Conference of trades union secretaries in 1905, when the right of independent representation was taken away from the Czech-Slav trales union commis-

sion. This was done on the instigation of the representative of the Vienna trades union commission, who contended that in every country, therefore also in Austria,only one trades union central should be admitted. This decision by which the Czech trades union commission, which had formerly been recognised as independent, was excluded, naturally caused much bitter feeling in the ranks of the Czech organised workingmen, as they could not understand that they had been excluded from the trades union socialist internaional, for the reason that their nation did not possess an independent government.

This bitter feeling increased all the more when they saw that independent representation was granted to the Finnish, and lately to the Croatian and Bosnia-Herzegowina Centrals, although these countries are in reality incorporated with other nations. Even lately in Paris (1909) the American Federation of labour was reproached for not having joined, although as regards their principles, they do not proceed in accordance with the socialist labour class of other countries, which can be proved by the reports sent to the Stuttgart Congress (1907). In the same way, the French unions are welcomed in the trades union international, only they openly object to the political action of the proletariat.

The Czech labour class, which in agreement with the intentions ofthe International, forms in its political, trades union and cooperative organisations a uniform whole, impregnated with the class-struggle idea, felt and still feels the more astonished at

the decision of the Amsterdam conference (1905) in that it can neither be founded on tactics nor on principle. Even at the Stuttgart trades union conference (1902) the representative of the Czech trades union central was present, and it was declared on this occasion that the agreement between the Czech and Austrian Land Commissions referred *solely* to *support during strikes* and *for the rest both commissions should remain autonomous*. (See minutes of second international conference of secretaries etc. at Stuttgart, 1902). A formal proof of this independence will be found in the address books of the Centrals, in the organ of the German General Commission in the « Correspondence sheet » in which up to the year 1905, the address of the Czech Central was included.

However, the Amsterdam decision was nothing more than the public expression of the Vienna Commission's intentions, against which the Czech labour movement defended itself and had to defend itself if it did not wish to wither, and become an inanimate barren organism. It is necessary to penetrate further into the conditions existing in Austria, in order to comprehend the quarrel between the socalled central and autonomous organisations, a designation which does not mean a difference of principle but a formal difference. They are simply brought in to show the difference. To summarise the meaning of their tendencies : While the socalled central organisations behind which is the Vienna Commission, are attempting to unite Austrian organisations with the Ceutral office in Vienna, the

socalled autonomous organisations, which are united to each other, are trying to act together in regard to the government, but otherwise each one works independently in its own province.

To the uninitiated this division would appear superfluous, if one admits that it is necessary to work together. And yet it is chiefly a question of the division of the sphere of activity just the same as in the international union of labour organisations of the different nations and countries. Each of these organisations, working in its own sphere, represented in the labour movement of its nation, forms a component part of the international labour army. One sees it to a small extent in Austria. For instance, here the political labour movement since 1897 is divided into national autonomous organisations, which in general Austrian questions proceed together and decide together, and whose highest court is the Party government representation, composed of the Party Executive Committees of all the national organisations. The national organisations hold their Congresses independently, they have also constituted their organisations independently, without any quarrel. It can be said with truth, that this division and arrangement of the labour movement in Austria, furt hered every impulse, which also found appreciation in other countries.

And this political movement, was also formerly uniform, central, Austrian. With its development, with its growing responsibility, it was necessary to divide up the forces, to make wider, deeper

agitation, which in many tongued Austria, all tended to division, to independence. How beautifully this is conceived by Gen. K. Kautsky, in his pamphlet «Nationality and Internationality» where on page 27 (Appendix of «Neue Zeit» XXVI) he writes:

«In a state like Austria, social-democracy must add to its Present day Programme, which it has in common with sister parties of other countries, a nationality programme. In addition to considerations for the propaganda and action, consideration for the organisations should oblige them to do this. At the beginning in Austria only the German proletariat was sufficiently developed to take up the socialist propaganda, but during the forty years of this propaganda, one nationality after another of the state has stepped into the circle of modern international culture, and each one has produced a proletariat, which is striving for this culture, but as regards language, can only enjoy the same in the form of national culture, in that ist is made accessible to him by the language of his own nation. So that socialist propaganda and its organisation, although international in tenor, must be national in form. *Therefore the Austrian social democracy requires a nationality programme, not only for the State but also for the Party and trades union; and it must also procure forms which will enable different nations to cooperate peaceably within the same organisations.* »

Although comrade Kautsky says elsewhere, that he did not mean by this, independent national trades union organisations, yet as acquainted with

the conditions in Austria, he admits that the development of the movement necessarily brought about changes here.

And we wish to prove that the Czech independent trades union organisations did not violate socialist principles, but that in their sphere they simply wish to work with more and more success in the spirit of these principles. For this purpose we must quote a little history.

Originally — about 30-35 years ago — there was no question either of a political or trades union movement and still less of a cooperative one, *but simply a socialist movement*. These were chiefly workingmen educational societies, out of which sprang the first prophets of socialism and which, naturally in secret, attempted to awake the people to political consciousness. Many of these societies were also materially supported by their members. Whatever trades unions existed at that time, were local unions with a limited activity. And we must add that the Czech societies were worse off than the Germanones ; for political reasons they were more persecuted by the authorities. Even when in the 90s of last century trade unions were formed, the statutes of the Czech unions were rejected and those of the Germans accepted. In the Central of the Czech labour movement in Prague in 1893 for political reasons the exceptions régime was proclaimed which lasted for almost three years and naturally kept back the labour movement. Thus the Czech workingmen had to participate in the persecutions directed towards the people, in spite of the

fact that the Czech bourgeoisie, when they noticed the awaknening of the workingmen to class consciousness, persecuted same and excluded them from the nation.

Under these circumstances, the Czech labour movement could not gain in importance, as the German movement had done, without counting other nations in Austria. Furthermore, also because political life was concentrated in Vienna and the threads of the labour movement were gathered there, only the trades union organisaions, formed there, could attain their highest development.

In 1893 the Central of the trade unions in Vienna was erected, which was to further both the trades union and the political movements, though the task of each was a separate one. What little influence however, this Commission had on the development of the Czech labour movement, is shown by the fact that in 1896 only 4000 members were concentrated in the Czech union, although even at that time there were 18,228 members in the Czech trades and education unions. At the Congress of the trades union organisations of the same year the flame burst out. The Czech delegates demanded in particular :

1. That the trades union commission should choose two secretaries, one of whom should be able to speak and write the Czech language.

2. Among other things it is the special duty of the Czech secretary to draw up statistics for the wants of the Czech comrades and to furnish them with the necessary explanations.

3. When required comrades who know the Czech, Polish, Slavonic and Italian languages are to have posts in the management not only of the Central unions but also in the country and local unions.

These demands which naturally originated from the practice of the movement, were rejected by the majority of the German delegates. In the debate the Czech comrades of the trades union commission complained that nothing had been done for the Czech movement, that same was even treated unjustly and that the Czech trades union movement was chiefly advanced by the political organisation which was to be ignored. But it was all in vain. The die was cast. Therefore the Czech comrades in January 1907 formed an independent Czech Central, the Czech-Slav trades union commission in Prague.

It is particularly stated in their programme that they desire to entertain friendly relations not only with the trades union organisations of other nations, but especially with the trades union organisation in Austria. The Prague Commission was only created in *self defence*, and was recognised also by the Vienna commission. Therefore in a comparatively short time friendly relations were renewed, which lasted until 1905.

There were no further bigger quarrels, as each commission worked independently in its own sphere and in questions of common interest they always agreed to proceed in common, from one general principle. This process, which was also

rendered possible by the independent and up to then powerful land societies, goes to prove how incorrect is the statement that a federative division of Austria is impossible, or at least unprofitable.

For on the contrary, the quarrels began just when an attempt was made to unite the land societies, an attempt that the Czech commission did not oppose at all, for they even, with certain reserves tried to advance same. It seemed as if the industrial crisis of 1900-1904 were favourable to an intimate union of the organisations of Austria. It is true that in the discussions and debates the dangers of Centralism in Austria were pointed out, but these were unnoticed. The Czech comrades were firmly convinced that the events of 1896 would not repeat themselves. Unfortunately they were mistaken. We are convinced that this is not caused by badwill on the part of the German comrades, but that it is a consequence of their opinion, in which they are more or less under the influence of the Austrian bourgeois government, although the bankruptcy of their Centralism should serve as a warning.

Hardly had a few Czech trades unions united with the Germans when the Vienna commission immediately began another tactic in their private as wele as in their public proceedings. For instance we have in Austria a government labour council, a government preparatory corporation, which is composed also of a third of labour representatives. The Czech commission in agreement with the Vienna commission for the first time sent its re-

presentative to this council. When the nomination period had elapsed, the Vienna commission, without any previons consultation, proposed another delegate, as representative for the Czech commission, and as the latter refused they delegated the former representative direct from Vienna, thus simply taking advantage of the government's ignorance of the real state of things.Thus it came about that the German and Czech national working-men and the Christian socialists were represented in the Council; but in no way were the Czech class conscious organised labour class represented. It was only at the third period of office that this evil was remedied by the services of a bourgeois minister of commerce, who happened be a Czech. It was on the occasion of an agricultural enquiry. Again the Prague commission was left out ; Instead of nominating a Czech labour expert, only German labour representatives were nominated.

At this time hower the first drawbacks of centralised trades unions showed themselves. It is true that certain unions had demanded a certain autonomy but same was valueless, as economically it had not basis. The agreements were only on paper. In addition to the fears shared by many experienced unionists in regard to absolute centralisation, came the very difficult formation of aftergrowth and the gaining of new members, circumstances which soon made themselves felt and which arose from the given social and national conditions in Austria. It was necessary for the trade unions to gain for their ranks all those engaged in trades.

And this aftergrowth and the gaining of new members could only be effected by experiencel men who had grown up and had to live under these conditions and not by any distant central management, which was working under absolutely different economic, political and educational conditions.

The proceeding of certain central offcices was absoluty incomprehensible, for they gave more credence to their own officials than to commissions chosen by the members. Thus in the Stonemasons union the organisation on Czech territory was injured for years, by the disloyal and unbusinesslike behaviour of the Secretary. Among the apprentices of commerce there existed a federal union of the land society. In 1904, against the will of the Bohemian land society a Central union was founded which the Bohemian land society was to join. As the latter however demanded the Central union should satisfy the natural administrative needs, this was indirectly refused. Against the will of the Bohemian land society, without the consent of the Prague trades union commission a second organisation of German commercial apprentices was formed.As no agreement was arrived at the Vienna union formed competitive local groups, as a consequence of which the weak organisation of commercial apprentices in Bohemia was split up. Also in other branches conflicts arose, thus with metalworkers, bookbinders, lithographers, masons etc. The bookbinders, and lithographers trades union did not agree, especially about the amalgamation.

After the Amsterdam Conference when the Czech

delegate was not admitted as a representative, the quarrel came to a climax. The Vienna commission now wanted to ordain that all centralised unions which up to then had paid their subscriptions for their Czech comrades direct to the Prague commission, should in future do this through their intermediary in this way demonstating their higher authority. However as it had been stipulated in the different trades unions on amalgamating, that the Czech members should be directly represented in the Prague commission, they objected to this breach of contract. The Vienna commission then began a systematic attack against the independence of the Prague commission and to this end prevented every discusion of conditions under which it would have been possible to work together i. e. to arrange matters so as to enable the Czech labour movement to develop.

But in spite of all conflicts in the different unions the Prague commission still endeavoured to arrive at some understanding. After the Amsterdam conference when it was certain that there would be no agreement, they elaborated the following project which was to serve as framework and basis of further proceedings :

The Czech trades union commission in Prague proposes the following in order to put aside all differences between the trades union commission in Vienna and the trades union commission in Prague, in order to obviate inner upheavels, damages and conflicts in the various oganisations of the

country, as well as for the mutual safeguard of equal rights for the members of the various nationalities.

I. a) The acknowledgement and creation of autonomous trades union commissions whose sphere of action shall extend to all persons of their own nationality.

b) The recognition of an international general commission of trades unions in Austria, composed of representatives of the national trades union commissions, who would deal with all matters not pertaining to the various national commissions. It would be the duty of this commission to deal with all matters regarding trades unions outside Austria, as well as to appoint representatives at labour congresses and conferences in foreign countries.

II. The representatives of the abovenamed orgasations represented in the Czech trades union commission recognise the following forms of trades union organisation, under the following conditions :

1. The organisation of national trades unions, societies and federations. 2. Organisation of empire unions. 3. Organisation of empire federations. 4. Organisation of land societies and international cartels.

a) The directors of the trades unions empire organisations will observe absolute national equality in their activity and in the press — this is the aim of the social democratic labour party in Austria.

The various nationalities will be represented in committee meetings,at congresses and international conferences in proportion to the number of their members.

In the annual reports and international publications, the central committee will keep the statistics of their members according to nationality.

b) To each nationality shall be guaranted the right to choose their agitation and tariff agreement committee in the federations and societies, without regard to frontier. These committees shall manage the newspaper which shall be published in the mother tongue, select editors, secretaries and honourable men of trust, decide about local strikes, in so far as they are restricted to persons of their own nationality and those trades which have no head quarters or branches in other parts of the empire.

c) The committee shall make no difficulty when local national groups are formed, if in a district where there is no trades union of that nationality 30 members report themselves provided the members, local groups or local societies can choose to which trades union commission they wish to devote the subscription required for the commission.

This proposition corresponded absolutely with the practical needs of the trades union movement in Austia and its given conditions. Today, Otto Bauer, the theoretical defender of the Vienna commission proposes almost the same thing. At the conference of October 15, 1905 the Vienna commission replied as follows :

After thoroughly examining the proposition of the Prague commission the empire trades union commission declares :

The trades union commission of the Empire is of opinion that it is their duty and that of the Central Organisations in every way to provide for the linguistic needs of the members.

Furthermore they declare :

1. That they will unconditionally carry out the decisions taken at the trades union Congresses, that is to bring about the centralisation of the trades union movement.

2. As the organisation proposition submitted by the Prague trades union commission is directed towards the creation of independent national trades unions and empire organisation, against centralisation and as the realisation of this proposition would greatly injure the trades union movement in general,it is the duty of the central organisations energetically to oppose such endeavours which would greatly injure the interests of the labour class no matter what nationaliy.

3. In consequence of the decision of the organisation and the necessities of the trades unions struggles for the improvement of the social position of the labour class, all those organisations which separate themselves from the central organisation, by forming their own local societies, are to be considered as standing outside the pale of Austria's trades unions and no mutual agreements are to be concluded with these organisations.

4. The endeavours of the Czech trades union commission to extend their activity beyond the Czech portion of Bohemia and to make of it a Czech national trades union commission, *must be opposed in every way*, because such endeavours are not only in opposition to the decisions of the general trades union congresses, but they also hinder the trades union movement of every profession as well as the successful issue of the struggle.

5. The position taken by the representative of the empire commission at the International Conference of Trades Union Secretaries in Amsterdam, as regards admitting a representative of the Czech Trades Union Commission to the International Trades Union Conference is based on the decisions of the Stuttgart and Dublin Conferences and is in perfect harmony with these decision. With regard to this the empire Trades Union Commission assembled at Brünn absolutely approves of the position which corresponds with the necessities of trades union tactics of the Central Organisation.

The Vienna Commission then called a Congress of its organisations for December 8-10, 1905, at which their propositions were accepted by 197202 votes against 2364. 30680 votes of the Czech delegates were not given in, as it was a question of the votes of members incorporated in the central organisation, but belonging to the Czech Trades Union Commission. Besides these about 30000 Czech members were not represented at all, so that at least 60.000 Czech members did not sanction this decision. Naturally the quarrel could not be patched

up by the decision of an extraordinary congress, as it lies at the root of the movement, without taking into consideration the fact that the congress was not entitled to take a decision.

For this reason since the amalgamation of the land federations at the congresses of each trades union, the quarrel was discussed in various forms, but essentially as regards what the organisation practically lacks. In such organisations where dissensions reached a climax, independent Czech societies were created, thus stonemasons, shoemakers, carpenters, metal and leather workers etc. It was seen namely that a systematic centralisation of the movement was not possible, not only on account of the natural linguistic difference, but also because of the economic differences. There were differences as regards subscriptions, subsidies and the decisions of the organisations.. They were especially remarkable in regard to strikes and wage movements. The Central Committees were simply unable to cope with the entire movement, as it would be required, and for this reason arrangements were made which were contrary to the interests of the organisation. In some organisations officials and even editors of Czech newspapers were appointed who did not know a word of the language of the members. Under such conditions how could the Czech labour movement flourish? The Trades Union Congresses, instead of being labour congresses became simple demontrations. With the best of good wills it was not possible to arrive at a proper understanding, let alone to satisfy the

members. It is true translations were made, but these translations simply made the negotiations twice as long, expenses increased and the result was — nothing special. The statement that with a central committee the organisation would save money, may be true in countries of one language, but in Austria it is a myth.

For instance the Congress of metal workers in 1900 cost over 60,000 K. and the discussions were held only in German and in Czech. What will happen when the Polish Slavonic, and Italian movement shall have developed sufficiently as to have more representatives and that their delegates in order to understand the discussions, shall ask for translations?

When it was decided to forcibly convince the Czech comrades in their independent unions, of the advantages of a central organisation — we would call to mind that in Vienna for instance the members of he Czech shoemakers' union were boycotted and other countries were warned against them — the situation became critical. And all the more so that the Vienna commission which led the attack against the independent Czech unions, even approved of the creation of an auxiliary workers' union with the masons, carpenters' union with the metal workers i, e. branch organisations with the metal workers i, e. bdanch organisations with the various branches. The workmen of the various industries were separate, but the workmen of the various industries in distant places, speaking different languages and in different situations, were

amalgamated. They were even consistent with the same braches. Thus, years ago in Bohemia a federation of agricultural labourers, butchers and pork-butchers was created, the German comrades, in spite of their centralisation principle, with other branches, later on created trades unions for these branches.

But the greatest quarrel broke out in 1909 after the formation of the independent Czech metal workers union. It is necessary here to say a few words with regard to this organisation. Up to 1904 there existed in Bohemia the land federation of metal workers which quietly w rked in common with the metal workers union in Vienna. In this year they united on condition that an executive committee should be established in Bohemia which should direct the movement there, as well as the library and the newpaper. The events in the other trades unions naturally did not remain without influence on this branch, as the Czech metal workers union formed part of the Czech-Slav trades Union Commissions. Among other things it was also these important economic reasons which led to a separation: the property of the Czech trade paper was situated in Prague, as the Czech executive committee had stipulated to have the management of the paper, which was quite natural, seeing that the majority of the committee did not understand the Czech language, consequently could not edit the paper. When however in 1905 and 1906 big strikes broke out in Bohemia, for fear perhaps that the ready money should not be used to help the strik-

ers, the officials were ordered to transmit their ready money, all but a certain sum, to Vienna, an order which absolutely ignored the existence of the Executive Committee, and treated them with a slighting mistrust, as if they wished to make had use of the money, even if it were in a good cause. But worse conflicts were to come. In Pilsen 4000 workingmen were locked out, in Kladno 1200. Here the employers wanted to destroy the organisation of foundry-workers which was still in its infancy. und every hope was centred in the help of the Union, which failed them. Although at this time, according to reports the Union, paid out for strikes, for unorganised workingmen in other places, far more than 100,000 K, the organised locked out workingmen of Kladno received from it K. 74.80 and those of Pilsen K. 2993.70. We do not in the least wish to criticise the sums paid outside Bohemia, but if this disproportion is accounted for by the fact that the Czech paid nothing towards the ordinary strike fund, then we would reply that at that time, with the exception of Vienna, no other place contributed towards this fund.

The above-named sums were paid out of the so-called four-Heller fund, taken out of the ordinary members, subscriptions which were the same everywhere. But even then the difference between the sums paid out would not be so striking, if there had not been a question, at the time of the strike, of the number and the demands of the strikers. But what was astonishing here, was the fact that the existence of the fund out of which these sums

were paid, was unknown, even denied to the Czech members! They had first to find it in balance sheets in order to prove to the Committee that they were in the wrong. We can only observe that this fund amounted on July 31, 1906 to a sum of 78,048 K. This was then the principal reason why the Czech members were opposed to a central strike fund, because they had been so bitterly deceived. And trust is the basis of organisation. Furthermore there was a question of the purchase of an object for a workingmen's home in Prague, a project which would allow of the combination of Party institutions, the erection of a printing-shop (the party publishes pretty extensively), and which was very favourable.

As in the case of the other federations, the funds also to themetal workers were in Vienna, the Executive Committee requested that a part of these funds (10,000 to 15,000 K) should be invested as an interestbearing loan, in the workingmen's home. Other federations sanctioned this, but the committee — sent to the federation official in Prague, the curt telegraphic reply that if he should dare to comply with the wish of the Executive Committee and invest even one Heller, he would be prosecuted by law ! And on the top of all this, it was demanded that the remainder of the funds, which the Czech members and collected, and which was in their possession, i. e. the strike fund, should be centralised. This was discussed at two conferences, and unanimously declined. And when on the federation day in December 1908, the Czech delegates

were simply outvoted, and it was decided that the remainder of their autonomy should be done away with, and that the appointed officials should have more authority than the chosen members, then a land conference of Czech members was called, which decided the formation of an independent federation of Czech metal-workers. In order to explain this decision, we will quote the resolutions of the federation day and those of the land conference :

The resolution of the federation day read as follows : —

«In the order to manage the business in the sphere of action entrusted to the local management by the Federation Committee the latter will appoint or subsidise secretaries, according to the industry and organisations conditions and these secretaries shall be seconded at local conferences by local committees chosen from the members, and together with the local secretaries, these shall form the local management.»

The second resolution dealt with the centralisation of the strike fund, which under other circumstances the Czech comrades would not have opposed, but the treatment they had experienced hitherto did not speak in faveur of it.

At the land conference of December 26, 1908, the following resolution adopted by 54 to 4 delegates, explained the sentiments of the Czech members : —

«The conference of Czech local groups and metal-workers of Bohemia held on December 26, 1908 in

the «Workingmens' home» at Prague, after thoroughly examining the resolution of the last federation day of the metalworkers, in regard to the strike fund and the nomination of local secretaries appointed by the land executive committee, considers this a violation of the agreement made at the time of the amalgamation of the land society with the federation and for this reason cannot sanction same.

The land executive committee in Prague, which according to agreement, represents one of the contracting parties, has up to now conscientiously worked in the interests of our organisation, for which reason we give it our entire confidence and declare that we stand for its preservation for dealing with matters which concern the whole country, as well as for its representation in the Party, trades union commissions etc. We are in no way opposed to the nomination of local secretaries to deal with local matters and unconditionally maintain the self-management of the strikefund in Bohemia. And as we are convinced that in the federation we shall not obtain the conditions necessary for the development of the organisation in Bohemia we entrust the Executive Committee with the arrangement of matters necessary for the protection of our interests, even to preparing an independent «Czech metal worker's federation» in which all privileges of members shall be retained until further otice.

At the same time we declare, that we are proceed-

ing on the principes of the class struggle and international general action from which under no circumstances we shall deviate.

Furthermore we declare that the step we have taken has inno way been dictated out of consideration for national Chauvinism, but solely by the practical necessities of our movement.

In consideration of this, we request the Executive Committee immediately to take up negotiations with the Committee of the Metal worker's Federation in Austria, in regard to the conditions of a uniform general mode of action in wage conflicts with employers, as well as in all questions relating to metalworkers in Austria».

But this time the matter did not develop as it did in 1904. Then 872 members voted for the amalgamation and 241 against it; in 1909 29995 members voted for separation and 288 against it; therefore in 1904 there was nearly a third part against it and now only a tenth part. But while formerly the independent Czech federations were set on by other federations, now a regular race was under taken. It is a pity that we have to complain against our comrades in other countries with regard to this. Every form of exchange was declined and the members of the Czech federations were boycotted in the workshops. Unimportant local groups were maintained in Bohemia, at great cost, simply in order to split up the Czech movement. At the instigation of the Austrian federation, foreign federations refused all intercourse with the Czechs, although numbers of thier members, especially Germans

pass through the Czech territory and our local groups supported them willingly as far as possible. In short, form was raised over principle, and in certain cases it was preferred to make an agreement with the sworn enemies of the working-men rather than with the comrades of the same class.

And now the efforts for the destruction of the independent centrals of the Czech trades union movement were redoubled. In direct oposition to the resolution of the trades union congress, the Vienna commission established a branch in Prague, although there is quite a number of representatives of central federations in the Prague Commission. Then when the political committee naturally wished to interfere and express their opinion of these events, that the members, of the independent federations were equal to their comrades in the central unions, then a regular hunt began. The events in Moravia, a country related toBohemia, but under German rule, contributed largely to this. And that which applied to bourgeois Moravia also applied to the workingmen. The German comrades governed all the more important institutions of the capital although the members were Czechs. Naturally this could not last long. The Czech element began to move. The German comrades had to give up one position after another and therefore they endeavoured to put a stop to this natural progress of development. They were not at all particular as to their means of doing this. When namely a removal of the powers was contemplated

in the cooperative society and the workingmen' loan society, they arranged a counter-attacck for the dismissal of the instigators of the Czech emancipation efforts. However this time the whole of Moravia did not stay on the side of Vienna, although its trades unions were mostly centralist, for the majority of the Czech members began to see clearly and they recognised that if they stood on the side of the Czech comrades in the political movement, nothing would be more natural than that they should also establish their position by amalgamating the trades union and cooperative movements.

And matters came to a crisis. So long as the German comrades could lean on the Czech comrades in Moravia, just for so long could they quietly ignore the Czech comrades. But now the situation is changed. Quite a number of branches decided for Czech independent federations and against centralisation of all economic power in Vienna, whence came the danger that the independence also of the Czech political and cooperative organisations would be threatened, of which we have proofs. On April 3 and 4 conferences were called at Brünn, one for the central groups in favour of centralisation and another for the independent. The opinions of the members of the centralist conference is shown by the fact that they did not invite the Czech social democratic party, yet they did not hesitate to complain that this party had not been represented. But the most striking of all is the difference in the resolutions of both conferences.

The resolutions of the centralists conference was essentially as follows : —

«The highest principle in the organisation of every struggle of the Czech proletariat is unconditionally the class standpoint and internationality. The conference solemnly declares that they have invariably maintened the preservation of proletarian solidarity of the class conscious internationally minded labour class. »

«..... The separatist trades union organisations whose basis is the distinction of the working-man according to his nationality menace peaceful procedure and international solidarity and therefore from our class and international standpoint, we cannot agree with them. »

«..... We declare the resolution taken at the Meeting of the Party on March 28, in Prague to be unfounded and an absolutely undeserved slight to the honest and trustworthy Czech comrades, who have rendered such good service to the Party. We fear by such classification of the comrades, that the party representatives are doing the Party a bad turn, because it might bring about discontent and dissatisfaction instead of joyous enthusiasm. We are doing our duty when we draw the attention of the representatives of the Party and that of the entire Party to this. Nevertheless we declare that we do not consider ourselves unequal and that we will continue to working the interests of the class requirements of the labour class. in the interests of the principles of international democracy.»

The resolution of the independents read as follows : —

«In regard to the resolutions of the Party representatives of the Czech Slav social democratic labour party, on the united procedure of the trades union and political organisation for the improvement of the conditions of the Czech working-man and the management of their wages and political struggles, the Trades Union Land conference in Moravia declares that for the purposes of cooperation, the only way is to carry out the precepts of the socialist international. We insist on having united independent Czech organisations, whose highest institutions are the Czech Slav trades union commissions and its congresses forming part of the Czech working-men's labour movement, which in conjunction with an internationally organised labour class enters the lists for the victory of social democracy. We acknowledge the present Austrian Central Organisation to be equal and to have equal rights in so far as they grant to the Czech members an autonomy included in the demands of the Trades Union Commission under date of October 15, 1905. The Conference of the Moravian Trades Unions votes for the establishment of a Moravian trades union commission as a land commission, which will form part of the Czech Slav Trades Union Commission. The Moravian Trades Union Commission shall be a meeting place and centre of trades union work under the Czech proletariat in Moravia.»

While in the first resolution we see a false rendering of the Party representatives' resolution, and in the other a decided intolerance, the latter offers a way for agreement and peaceful cooperation. But in vain ! Although in the chemical and the tailors' branches it was at first admitted that Czech members should belong to the Czech Slav trades Union commission, later on at the instigation of the Vienna commission, this was rescinded and more vigorous attacks were made, not only against the Czech Slav trades union commission, but also against the Party. Contrary to all Party statutes and resolutions, a paper was brought out, the lampoon « Proletar » (« The Proletarian »), whose columns were filled with attacks on the Czech Party and which are quoted everywhere by the most inveterate enemies of the workingman. In order to judge of this paper we quote the following fragment concerning the representatives of the Party, therefore also the German comrades :

« Our statesmen had a brilliant idea last year during the summer holidays.If it were not a matter for weeping, we really might be proud of it. For when after a two years parliamentary campaign, they returned home from Vienna, they found to their horrer, that their pockets were ampty. In such circumstances it is difficult to know what to do, but our statesmen did not find any such difficulty. Before they arrived in Prague, they had formed a plan. In order to escape unpleasant questions, as to what the 89 representatives had done for the benefit of their electors, they raised a big

commotion. Everywhere quiet demonstration-marches were arranged against the high prices. The other political parties were so pleased with this comedy that they followed suit. From all sides came songs of praise for the brilliant idea of our statesmen. However, as we know these wretched prices have not gone down in spite of the promenades but are rapidly getting worse. Therein lies the brilliant idea but we do not know if it is deserving of admiration.»

The German comrades now wish to deny these ugly attacks, but that they are responsible for them and that they led the agitation against the independent trades union movement with themonies of the centralist federations, is proved by the minutes of the Vienna commission which states as follows :

Minutes of April 3, 1910, N°8. «Hueber (secretary of the Vienna commission) reports on the trades union conference in Brünn. The minutes of the conference are published by the commission in pamphlet form, in Czech and German. »

But this conference only took place the same day in Brünn and in Vienna the commission had already decided how they were to agitate in regard to their resolutions.

Minutes of April 29, 1910, N° 5. « Hueber reports on the progress of the action against the separatist efforts in Moravia. After a long debate the report was read. »

The « progress » means the creation of the lampoon « Proletar ». The secretary of the Vienna

commission admitted officially at a meeting of the general empire party that the commission supported the « Proletar » with their money.

In the Vienna Trades Union Commission which is supposed to represent 120,000 organised workingmen, there are 14 comrades of which hardly 3 understand any Czech. This is an incontestable proof that it is the German comrades who had led the attacks against the Czech Labour Movement and not the Czech comrades as has been suggested in some places. This is also proved by the action of the Review « Der Kampf » which called forth criticisms from foreign comrades who knew nothing about the matter. As far as Czech comrades are concerned let the truth be told here, these are all employees of the Trades Union Central Organisatinons, nor do we blame them, for we can quite understand their position.

In order to show how unjustly they are acting, we will give an example out of the smelters' branch. The Smelters have their own federation and the Czech members of this were represented in the trades union commission. Now the Vienna Central has introduced an action for their dismissal. They tried to find reasons for this. As they could not find any they simply started an attack. The manner in which they proceeded is best shown by a declaration of the Prague Trades Union commission, which was not replied to by the Smelters because knowing themselves in the wrong they were unable to reply.

The declaration reads as follows :

« The chief officials of the Smelters Central Union of Austria whose offices are in Vienna, propose and ordain that at Union and private meetings of the Smelters branch in Bohemia, the smelters organisation shall no longer pay to the Czech Slav Trades Union Commission the monthly contribution of 3 Hellers per member and that this contribution shall be paid in to the Trades Union Commission at Vienna. Many of their reporters state as a reason for this breach of the resolutionof the Congress, that the Czech Slav Trades Union Commission is working against the Smelters Organisation. The Trades Union Commission declare that this and similar statements are simple inventions for the purpose of misleading members. The Czech members of the Central Federation of Smelters are still members of the Trades Union Commission and have also already paid their subscriptions for March. The representative, of the Smelters for several weeks did not attend the meeting of the Commission without excusing himself. The Executive Committee as well as the Tariff Commission of the Smelters have not made a single complaint throughout the year either in writing or through the intermediary of their delegate, against the incorrect proceedings of the Commission. They did not even communicate their complaints to the Trades Union Commission on a direct invitation to do so through the paper. We would therefore draw the attention of the Czech members of the Central Federation of Smelters, as well as members af the

Trades Union Organisation represented in the Trades Union Commission, to the fact that it is the object of this unfounded agitation to work for the destruction of the Trades Union Commission and to put in its place a commission established by the Austrian Trades Union commission in Vienna Events in Moravia are sufficient proof of that which is to be brought about in Bohemia.

By order of the Czech Slav Trades Union Commission.

Prague April 29, 1910.

We wish only to add here that there are 21 representatives of the Central Federation in the Trades Union Commission.

This is what has happened up to the beginning of this year: The attacks of the Vienna Trades Union Commission on the entire Czech labour movement, after the necessary creation of single independent federations, the creation of the «Proletar», the boycotting of the Party's daily paper and other actions against the Party have now directly induced the creation of independent federations even with orther branches, consequently the complete independence of the entire Czech labour movement anl the safeguarding of their unity. The danger was recognised that if the trades union organisations,that is the economic basis of the labour movement are governed by comrades who are ignorant of conditions and language of the members and who with the best of good will are not able to understand their wants and to help them. So long as there were 10,- 20,000 members in the Czech

Trades Union movement this was not noticeable, but nowadays when we have over 130,000 members in the political, 35,000 in the Cooperative and 120,000 in the Trades Union movements, including Czech members of the Central Federation, then duties and responsibilities increase, and therefore the united Austrian Central Organisations were bound to come to grief because the leading German comrades could not realise that the Czech workingman was so far developed that he wished to take part in decisions, for in the stipulation for joint rights, that is joint work, it is impossible to demand blind confidence only, but also conviction and cooperation and it is impossible to guarantee this by theoretic resolutions, which go no further than the paper they are written on,but simply and solely by a practical arrangement of the organisation.

It remains for us still to prove that what we could not obtain in the Central Federation, we have attained through or own federation and this without in any way weakening the movement nor violating the international principles of the labour class movement. In the first place we must raise the question whether educational activity of the trade union organisations can be separated from the economic activity. Is not every decrease of the working day, every rise in wages a highly educative act? Decidedly., But it must also be admitted that the economic situation alone does not encourage the working man to emancipate himself, if he is incapable of recognising such situation and consequently of finding its causes, so that he can choose

the right path in which to proceed. We constantly see that the most miserable economic branches have the worst organisations. It is only the growing knowledge of the workingmen which awakens his ideas brings them to a systematic organisation activity and destroys his extravagant plans for the sudden social overthrow by means of which he would forcibly raise himself overnight to the government of the world.

When Gen. J. Weber in his article in favour of Centralisation published in the Review «Der Kampf» writes that « true it is a matter of importance what language children are taught in, but it is much much more important to see that no child goes to school hungry», it is only a pretty figure of speech, a phrase but nothing more ! For experience has taught us that just because the child did not gain the necessary knowledge in school to enable him to cope with the difficulties of life in after years it will be far more difficult to win him for the economic fight, even if, in spite of his misery, he is not lost to it altogether. And therein lies the pity of the Austrian conditions because the non German labour class have to fight hard for the most primitive rights of citizenship, a struggle from which the labour clas of politically independent nations are completely protected.

The workingman can only conquer the world with his organisations, through them he gains equal rights and his position to cooperate as a citizen, the organisations are not only a means and a condition of justice, but also the bud of the future

social organisation. And especially is it the duty of trades union organisations, under present conditions and social laws, not only to protect the workingman from the ill-deeds of capitalism, but also by raising his economic level, to enable him to fulfil his class duty and to follow the united labour movement. We ask ourselves therefore if the independent organisations have fulfilled or will fulfil this duty ? We ask ourselves if they will not injure the economic power of the workingman — which rests on reciprocity)? The Czech trades union organisations like the trades union organisations of other nations performed and still perform the international duties of the labour movement, not only by supporting their members in ordinary times, but also by protecting them during economic struggles. During the last three years they paid out 371,620 K for strikes and lock-outs.

Such results should not be underestimated. The working day in a number of branches consists of 9 hours, with the plasterers and sculptors it is even 8 hours. Wages and other conditions are to a great extent fixed by collective contracts. All the big struggles in the different branches, for instance stone,masons,bricklayers, carpenters and metalworkers in which hundreds and thous and of workingmen were involved, are brought to a successful issue. It can therefore not be said that our trades unions do not accomplish their tasks.

In order to be able to manage the big struggles, our organisations established a cartel for mutual support ; the sister branches are represented by

committees united to proceed in common, throughout the entire branch of industry. In addition to this a combination of the sister branches into one united organisation is being prepared. The Czech workingman's principle is that it is better for the workingmen of one factory to stand together than the workingmen of the same branch, but miles apart, working under different conditions and speaking many languages. The Czech trades union commission has proved that they understand class solidarity, for they have not only held out the hand of good fellowship, but in spite of the rebuff they have been faithful to this same solidarity. At the Swedish lock-out the repulsed Czech workingmen contributed 5000 K., for the support of the carpenters in Germany, the Czech Carpenters Federation paid 1500 K., and we could quote many other examples of solidarity. The political organisation contributed 1000 K., to «L'Humanité» the central organ of the French comrades, to say nothing of large sums which they have contributed for years to the Ruthenian, Bosnian and other sister parties. So that international solidarity is never forgotten!

Is it possible to overlook a movement which comprises 40,945 members and publishes 38 newpapers of all branches in editions varying from 500 to 10,000 numbers? Certainly not, it is not possible to speak of a weakening. A weakening would consist in a decrease of members. But this is not the case in so far as it has not been brought about by other circumstances especially by the industrial

crisis which has been so bad during the last few years.

Let us first review the total organisations in Austia. Unfortunately the Vienna commission has only published reports up to 1908. But even so a study of the report is interesting. The Vienna commission published the number of organised branches: 1904: 189,121, 1905: 323,099, 1906: 448,20, 1907: 501,094, and 1908: 482,279. From these figures the following is seen: From 1904 to 1907, in spite of the continual quarrels in the trades unions, the number of members increases; it was only in 1908, when the industrial crisis took place that the number of members fell off, and the same in 1909 when the central federations show a loss of 30.000. It is necessary to add here that in this figure are inluded a few thousand metal-workers and masons, who went over to the Czech federations, so that it is not exactly a question of loss.

Let us now examine the members of the independent federations represented in the Czech Slav trades union commissions. In 1905 at the Amsterdam conference of trades union secretaries, it was given out as reason for the refusal of the independent representation of the Czech trades union commission, that the independent trades unions had only 8000 members although in reality it was a question of 21,000 members. In 1906 the independent federations counted 3.,356 members, in 1907: 40,757, in 1908: 38,356 and in 1909: 40,945. And this in spite of persecution, which was not practised by the authorities, but by the centralist German sister organisations.

That the statement that the loss of members is the fault of the independent Czech organisations, is not founded, is proved by the numbers in the various branches. In 1908 the following centralist organisations, who had not yet any independent Czech federations, had the following numbers of members : Metalworkers 6174, textile workers, 5822, Masons 5612, Smelters 2435, chemical industry 1612 and so on. In spite of the fact that Czech federations already, existed the following central federations gained members :

Industrial apprentices 1581, lithographers 1188, commercial and transport workers 1018, stonemasons 529, Bakers 295 and bookbinders 214 etc.

In order to complete the picture we will quote a few branches before and after the separation so as to prove the numbers of the organisation have not fallen off. We will take two years, 1905 and 1908, the economic conditions of which are similar ; 1905 was perhaps more favourable from an economic point of view and by reason of the election struggles more exciting, so that the comparison that we are choosing a year which is more favourable to the Czech federations, falls away :

Branches	Before the creation of the independent fed. Total organised in 1905	Organised after the creation of independent fed.		Altogether
		in the Czech fed. in 1908	In the Austrian fed.	
Shoemakers	7292	3700	4750	8450
Carpenters	3400	1800	7533	9332
Stonemasons	3232	2299	4792	7081
	3400	6371	4962	11333

We purposely do not give the federations that are not amalgamated, such as the bakers, lithographers, millers etc. But from the four branches given above, in which the quarrels were most passionate, it can be seen that there can be no question of a weakening of the organisaion. When we get proper reports for 1909, the balance will be still better. We will only mention the metalworkers who have separated their federation since 1909. In 1905 the federation of the Austrian metalworkers had 46,516 members, in 1908 before the separation 61,256 and after the separation at the end of 1909 50,858, the Czech federation had 6724 members, together therefore 58,582 members. Certainly then the metalworkers lost not only Czech but also German members, who were not eager for separation. On the contrary, we find on examining the records only of the metalworkers organisation in Bohemia, the seat of «Separatism » that in 1905 they had 11,588 members and that the end of 1909 the Austrian federation had 4485, the Czech 6725, thus together 11,109 members. We must also add here that in the German territory in Bohemia, in 1905 there were 300 members and in 1906-1907 even 6000 members. Then where is the loss in members?

In the attacks on the independent federations, it was pointed out that their creation meant a premium for the unorganised. It will be noticed how they overshot their mark. As their mistake was proved to them, they declared that for them the figures were not decisive. This fact is however ascertained here. The figures of the organisations

have not fallen, but has their power failled them? We will again take up the figures of the Vienna commission, which therefore are certainly not favourable to the independent organisations. If we compare the funds of the Czech with those of the Austrian federations, it is certainly not unfavourable to the Czech federations. We give the figures below :

	Austrian federations		Czech federations	
	Members	for 1 member a share in Kr. is:	Members	for 1 member a share in Kr. is:
Shoemakers	4750	8.—	3700	9.27
Stonemasons. . . .	4792	5 90	2289	8.08
Lithographers . . .	3077	106.—	638	125.69
Bakers.	6635	3.51	2013	13.59
Painters and decorators	5052	15.32	584	35.58
Bookbinders. . . .	3428	44.—	617	44.50
Carpenters	7533	7.69	1800	18.83
Apprentices	10863	5.89	1396	20.42

This was for 1908. For 1909 we have not got a general report but we have reports from a few federations. Thus for 1910 the federations of Czech shoemakers possesses in cash 39,271 Kr., and the Austrian only 29,660 K. Especially interesting is the comparison of the lithographers. For 1909 matters were as follows :

	Members	Takings	Expenses	Balance	Property Dec. 31.	Each members share
Tzech Lithog. Beseda	654	41.154	30 542	10 611	90 804	138.84
Austrian Senefelderbund	3180	158 405	147.991	10 414	248.958	78.28

A similar comparison can be made with the bookbinders. The Austrian federation of bookbinders on December 31, 1909 shows a balance of 40,181 Kr., whereas the Czech federation has 20,385 K. The former has 712 members the latter over 3000. In the last three years the funds of the Czech federation has increased by 9831 K. And how are matters with the builders federation? The Czech federation at the end of 1909 had in cash 23,654 K., the Austrian 10,711 K. and this only because it received from other federations the sum of 4922 K. And it is the same with other federations. Is not the statement of the weakening of the trades union movement an invention?

We could also point out how just in the year 1909 quite a number of Austrian federations had a deficit, which is certainly not a proof of great strength. We are not mentioning this in order to disgrace them but only out of self defence against the continual declarations of the incapacity of the Czech federations. We will give below a general table of the state of their funds so as to prove that they are not losing ground.

The independent Czech federations had in cash at the end of the year :

	1907	1908	1909
		In Kr.	
Working expenses fund . .	563 512	621.702	711.961
Protection fund	300 273	376.751	468.389

And any one who wishes to judge as an expert, must also notice that 1907 was the summit of con-

juncture and 1909 it reached its lowest point. The independent Czech federations just as the central federation had also to struggle to the utmost for the rights of the workingman.

According to reports as far as they could be obtained from the single federations, in 1909 the following sums were paid out for different federation matters :

	Altogether		
	Societies	Members	K.
Travelling help.	21	35.689	18.269
Support of the unemployed	23	32.592	135.633
Sickness	27	37.642	139.573
Disablement	7	8.637	51.341
Burial funds	24	37.269	19.344
Unmerited want	21	36.639	53.800
			Total 417.960
Legal protection	17	32.176	4.395
Newspaper	24	39.743	92.370
Education	24	34.135	18.947
Agitation, congresses. . .	26	40.159	31.510
Management expenses . .	29	40.810	168.947
Bundries.	26	38.638	97.577
			Total 413.778

These figures contain an immense amount of organisation and agitation work, which while it cannot be fully expressed by them, still finds expression in the growing power of the proletariat, the equality gained in the workshop and in society, and the growing influence on its leadership. They are a guarantee that the Czech workingmen are faithful to the principles of international socialism and continue to march in its tracks.

When Marx gave his battlecry : « Proletarians of all countries unite ! » he was certainly not thinking of a formal union of workingmen, but of a union of ideas and interests. Marx showed in the historical development and in its materalistic conception, that capitalism of every nation had interests in common, it works under different cultivative, political and economic conditions, but always because it is the owner of the means of production. The art of production necessitates the process of social, political and spiritual life. If therefore the working men unite in order to transform the principle of the private ownership of the means of production into the principle of social production, and to make it serve for the whole of society, then a better and more satisfactory state of things will be created in the world and social, political and educational pressure will cease.

This is the aim of the labour class of all nations. Everywhere according to their conditions. Just as the capitalists unite the class of the exploiters, so the working class unites a class of the disinherited. And if capitalism is working for longer working hours, and lower wages, the working class is trying for shorter working hours and higher wages, laws for the protection of the workingman, equal civic rights and thus step by step increasing their influence they will penetrate into the ruling organisations of society and instead of a one man capitalism being protected,it will be the interests of the multitude, In prosperity, each one should find his own prosperity. And thus, although all govern-

ments still protect private property the right of exploitation, yet they obey the strength and maturity of the working class, their conditions of socialisation. They turn the railways, mines and foundries into companies, they make laws for the protection and insurance and all this under pressure from the class conscious workingmen, a consequence of their economic and social progress.

And now the labour class in the independent federations is supposed to be working against all this? Have they in any way injured the principles of this international procedure? Their adversaries cannot produce a single case in support of this contention. On the contrary the Czech labour class, more alert and stronger on their own basis, trusting in their own strength, are steadily progressing towards the goal of socialism, which they will best attain by a rigid unity of their political, trades union and cooperative organisations, i.e. a united labour movement.

In our defence however, we can refer without scruple to our common programme of social democracy in Austria. This states especially in regard to the regulating of Austria :

1. Austria must be converted into a democratic national confederated state.

2. In place of the historical crownlands, national limited self governing bodies shall be formed, the laws and government of which shall devolve on national chambers chosen on a basis of equal universal and direct right of election.

3. The various self governing territories of one

and the same nation shall together form a national united federation whose national affairs shall be managed autonomously.

In the introduction it is especially stated that it is above all things necessary to resist bureaucratic government centralism. The party programme therefore recommends a federative union of the nations. It is exactly the same thing, although in a much more complicated form as that which is being resisted in the trades union movement. Does any one think that Austria, with its numerous opposed interests of peoples, confessions, parties and positions can be turned into a new, beautiful international federation before the national independent trades unions can in case of need be united for general defence and attack? We think that sooner the labour organisations will have to precede them as instruments of newer ideas and the basis of an improved social order. We know no twofold morality, one for the bourgeois class government and the other for ourselves. It will perhaps be objected : this is a future ideal and the duties of the trades union lie in the present, in practical life. Yes, but are our ideals utopian? In no way! They spring from practice. So that just for that reason because the trades unions are a practical weapon of the workingmen and under given conditions and social laws, solve practial questions of the hour, they must fulfil the given conditions by a profitable development.

The centralisation of production, the economic and technical changes which modern capitalism calls forth, actually clamour for a strong active

labour organisation, which can energetically oppose the tricks of capitalism, of its adherents and governments. Active organisations are only represented by conscious membership, intelligent men of trust in the workshops and factories, who eagerly defend the positions already conquered and who do not lose sight of their influence and the equality of the workingman in the work. The strength and firmness of the organisation are guaranteed by the utmost confidence, gained by working with the workingmen, sharing their labour, and not by blind belief. And this confidence was lacking in the idea of the united Austrian organisations. That is why they failed in the political and now in the trades union organisations.

We can also prove by a certain organisation that because of its federative arrangements, it was able to attain much even under Austrian conditions and therefore up to the present has escaped inner conflicts. This is the organisation of printers. It consists of 15 autonomous reciprocally united land societies. Not a single central organisation can compare with it, either in strength or in results gained. It was also left alone by competitive national social and Christian social organisations. The efforts to bring over the organisation of printers from the federative union into a rigid form of government society, efforts sustained with all possible force since 1904, had no success for the very reason that the times were against it and a centralisation like that with so large a number of members bespoke neither confidence nor love.

But we can also point out the fact that also in Austria the employers form their organisations with complete land and local autonomy. And the rising Czech capital is also forming its own organisations, though these are combined with others. Thus the organisation of the buildingtrade is formed. This alters nothing in their class ideas, on the contrary they are more clearly expressed. In the same way it happens with the accomplishment of Czech capital in general, which is arrested in its development by the political independence of the nation and the policy of the Austrian governments which directly stop the growth of the non German nations, but it is now beginning to defend its class interests with increased vigour.

And in these different political and national struggles, which are essentially economic, the labour class has to find the right path for the protection of its interests. Here no distinction can be made between « linguistic culture » and « economic action » but it must be borne in mind that the one completes the other. Life cannot be separated, and in so far as it is separated, only through the capitalist arrangement of the world, which has created laws for its own preservation, prohibiting united action of workingmen and which aim at the difference between the « political » and the « trades union » point of view. We will certainly not follow them in this path ! If the old bourgeois cosmopolitanism has survived, we must refuse its precepts, which have been taken over from a class opposed to us. Thus the original rigid organisation centra-

lism is nothing more than an inheritance from the old class society. And the government political centralism of Austria comes to grief through the economic development of the people. And it is only economic practical reasons which have today placed hundreds and thousands of Czech workingmen outside the central organisations. The complaints formulated by us here are only a proof of its unsolidity.

If today this labour class has its own organisations and desires to decide independently on the struggle, this does not signify that they wish to split up united action. The Czech workingman has offered himself everywhere for united action, where united interests demand cooperation, as we have already shown. Nor will he injure the class interests of the workingmen by his own action, for his class standpoint guarantees this. International procedure does not rest on manner, but more on the principles, demands, and duties of the movement. And if today we can guarantee that our organisations are absolutely equal to their tasks, who is there to reproach them with unsocialist feelings and unsolidarity? Let us again recall a little history. The years 1848 and 1867 were critical for the Czech nation. It was only because of a submission lasting two hundred years, that they were not ready for action during these two years, in order to reconquer their political independence. We would have had civic laws just the same as we have now in Austria, but by these civic laws we would have been an independent nationality, consequently

according to the arguments of our Vienna comrades, we should have been good comrades although we should have been obliged to have independent organisations. What is it that decides on nationality? Work, principles, practice or the class laws of the bourgeoisie? And we would add here that the Czech countries of Austria have at least the same historic rights to which the International Secretariat has referred in the Finnish-Russian question.

We are not labouring under any idea of bourgeois ideology. Quite the contrary. For us it is only a question of having a good organisation which this ideology might successfully oppose from a social point of view. Our aim is to have united industrial organisations of the Czech labour class combined in a united trades union central federation (trades Central spot) which again hand in hand with the political and cooperative centrals, would lead the labour class to victorious battle for the sacred rights of the proletariat.

Today we have in trade 5 or even more « central organisations » of the various branches. This makes our progress more difficult. It is here that we want unity. And where the labour class of different nationalities meets together in large numbers, quarrels are obviated, if there is proper and perfect union. But the central organisations refuse these conditions, although the government German, the Hirsch-Dunker and the Christian-socialist organisations occasionally proceed together; not long ago they even called same to a congress of protest against the new edition of the government insu-

rance law. (Sec Correspondenz-Blatt Berlin N. 14, 1910 XX. year.)

In spite of all threats and future attacks we shall stick to our principles, as we are thoroughly convinced of the justice of our cause. We are certain that only ignorance of the circumstances would bring a decision against us. Conditions ruling in Austria cannot possibly be compared with those of one language countries. We expect therefore, that the efforts of the Vienna Commission to represent the Czech labour class as non socialist and so create a feeling against them in the political International, will be refuted and that our defence will be in so far recognised that a thorough impartial examination of the conditions ruling in Austria will be undertaken, so that no party will come short and a correct judgment will be given also from a trades union point of view. It is thus that we have formed our opinion of the International. Just, equable, not standing on the foundation principle of bourgeois laws, but on the principle of the existing rights of the proletariat, founded on knowledge and experience. The Czech labour class will work in its organisations only in complete harmony with this International, which unites the labour class of the whole world, in so far as they are striving for a newer and better social order, the principles of which are indicated by the International. That they do not wish to deny their old principles, is shown above all by their efforts to protect them and to work with better success in accordance with their desires, by means of better and more perfect forms of their organisations.

IV[B]

Bohemia

Report of the Czechslav social-democratic Labour Party in Austria

At the international socialist Congress of Stuttgart we were able to report great success in the Czech proletariat. In the great struggles for the attainment of equal right of vote in 1905 and 1906, we carried with us the whole Czech nation and in the election fight of 1907 we gained by more than 400,000 votes 24 seats in Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, which made us the most powerful political party of the Czech nation.

This amazing success of Socialdemocracy filled all our bourgeois parties, from the most conservative to the most radical, with fear and trembling. Their every endeavour is now directed towards rendering the consequences of victorious impossible democracy i.e. the introduction of universal and equal right of vote in the Diet and in the communes, or at least if not impossible then to retard them. Therefore we are not only fighting against the democratising of parliament, against the still very strong absolutism of the monarchy in Austria and its supporting capitalist parties, but also against the more treacherous absolutism of the

bourgeois demagogism. This demagogism, which shows itself democrat-cally with a strong dash of socialism declares itself to the Czech smaller bourgeoisie, for the reacquirement of political and state independence of the Czech people, is feverishly endeavouring t combat every political and social success of the Social democrats, if not completely to prevent same, so as to retard their march of victory.

This struggle, although not so bitter in appearance as the last great election struggles, is in reality far more embittered and difficult than all previous struggles of the Czech class-conscious proletariat against the reactionary attemps of the capitalist state and its adherents.

The Czech small bourgeois parties (in our country we cannot speak of a capitalist bourgeoisie, because industry and commerce are almost entirely in the hands of German capitalists) were formerly divided into many fractions, and without any decisive organisation, were only kept together by means of general national catchwords. However,since the election struggles, they are being organised into firm and disciplined societies, in a social-democratic manner in mutual agreement they proceed against Social democracy.

The German Bourgeoisie, fearing for their field of profits, wish to protect this by means of legally established national right of possession, and therefore by their obstructions, frustrate every action of the Bohemian Diet and at the same time also the execution of the very moderate reform of right of

vote in the Diet and community, already adopted under three governments. The obstruction of the German bourgeoisie, has brought about a desperate situation in the country. The instruction in the school is being limited, temporarily engaged masters are dismissed, the impoverished hospitals are unable to take in sick and mental cases, all work of street and railway building, the regulating of the rivers had to be stopped, as the necessary funds were not forthcoming. This unique culture scandal of modern times, is upheld by the German bourgeois parties with the excuse that they must first have their national right of possession guaranteed and only then will they be prepared to remove the obstruction and to place no more obstacles in the way of organising the country's finances.

All these struggles are complicated by the severe industrial crisis and its accompanying dearness of the necessities of life, against which social democracy has to fight alone. In order to fill up the measure of evils to the brim, the state at the most inopportune time, annexed Bosnia and Herzegowina, occupied since 1878, and thus created eminent danger of war for the whole of Europe. That in spite of this serious danger, war has not broken out, is for the most part due to the energetic action of the social democracy, who, in parliament, in great meetings of the people and in their press passionately protested against war. In order to pay the gigantic expenses of this strange annexation policy, the government wants fresh taxes. Consequently a new struggle developed between the

democracy and the capitalist class as to who should bear the cost entailed by the annexation. The workingmen cannot bear any more burdens in addition to those already existing and they are protesting against the indirect taxes, the capitalists accustomed to thrust all burdens on to the shoulders of the working class, will not consent to any direct taxes.

In addition to this comes the no less severe and embittered struggle between the parts of the state of Austria. For example if a more favourable commercial treaty with another country is aimed at by the Austrian Parliament, it cannot be realised because of the disorders ruling in Hungary.

But all this is not enough. The working-class struggle in Austria is all the more complicated, because this State welded together from different formerly independent states and countries or parts of nations separated from the mothercountry, is doing continuous battle against the supremacy of the German bourgeoisie and for the establishment autonomy in the former independent states. The severest battle is being fought between the Germans and the Czechs. The Czechs demand the reestablishment of their political independence which has been stolen from them; the Germans demand the complete submission to their supremacy and the official imposition of German character to the unanimed state. In order of the better to gain this end the Germans demand the separation of the different parts according to language, of which they possess the majority, from Bohemia, thus securing their own economic right of possession. It is therefore comprehensible that the Czech bourgeois parties should resist to the utmost these attempts, which would for ever take from them every hope of the restitution of their independence, so dearly bought in the great struggles of the 17th century.

It is of great importance to the Czech as well as to the German proletariat that these struggles should finally terminate; a complete separation of mind cannot be brought about and an undisguised and unadulterated class struggle of the working-classes of both nations Bohemia and Moravia, as also in the whole of Austria is not to be thought of.

By their introduction unto parliamentary ground where these struggles are chiefly carried out, the Czech social democracy takes more and more interest in them. They are bound, because of the mutual nationality programme of Austria, to enter the lists for national autonomy, which naturally entails the attainment of the independence of the Czech nation, even if it is for other motives and objects than those of the smaller Czech bourgeoisie.

It is for socialdemocracy in the first place to educate the working-man up to class-consciousness and the class struggle, but this does not mean to liberate the working-man from his duty of development, and from the struggles of his nation for the restitution of national autonomy and national supremacy. Democratic principles, whose purest

interpretation is only to be found in the International, are nowadyas not only mere theories, their effect is felt everywhere, even in pratical life. The labour class struggle wil not exhaust itself in mere struggles for wages ; according to programme, it is carried on in the conquest of political power and in the erection of the democratic State, whose foundation can only be independence and autonomy of nations.

The Czech social democracy has therefore an extremely difficult standpoint. They have not only to fight for the economic interests of the labour class against foreign capitalists and their governments, but they have also to answer for the national productive emancipation and independence of their own people. In this they have also to fight against the smaler Czech bourgeoisie which, while standing up for the political, national and productive emancipation of the entire Czech nation, does this not for the sake of liberating the Czech proletariat, but only to rescue it from the hands of German capitalists, in order to bring it under the rod of the small Czech bourgeoisie.

In order to cope with these complicated and difficult struggles, carried on on all sides at once, the Czech social democrats have had to give a firm foundation to their organisation, On the Pilsner Party day of 1907, they were obliged to reform their political organisation in such a way as to be in a position to fulfil all demands on them. The number of comrades contributing regularly to the political organisations has risen from 100,000 to

130,000, the number of political organisations from 1680 tot 2462. We will give a few figures to show the intense agitatorial activity developed in the Party. In the past two years the Czech social democracy has held in its territory, which is situated in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, Lower and Upper Austria, 57,708 meetings, of which 743 were dissolved or prohibited. During the same period and in the same territory, 1845 Czech comrades were prosecuted on account of their party spirit and activity, and out of this number, 1337 were sentenced to 12 years, 8 months and 4 days imprisonment and to fines of 6293 K. 20 H., collectively.

In fact, all labour unions belonging to the Czech social democracy have increased their numbers of 2000 to more than 150,000.

Naturally the Party had to consider that it should advance the struggle of the working-men. The Czech Party has always been in the closest connection with the trades unions, they always formed one party. The Party statutes prescribe compulsory membership in his trades-unions organisations for each Czech comrade.

The Czech social democratic Party is in complete agreement with the resolution of the Stuttgart Socialist Congres which is as follows : —

« In order completely to liberate the Proletariat from the chains of intellectual, political and economic slavery, the political and economic battle of the working-class is equally necessary.

In the same measure as the duty of the socialist

party organisations lies in the territory of a political fight of the proletariat, so does the duty of the trades unions organisations lie in the territory of the economic battle of the working-class. The Party and the trades unions have equal duties to fulfil in the emancipation battle of the proletariat.

« Both organisations have their own particular territory on wich they have to determine their action in complete independence. On the other hand there is a continually increasing territory of the proletarian class struggle, on which the issue can only be successful, if the Party and the trades union organisations work together unanimously and in harmony. »

These principles, practised since its foundation, by the Czech social democratic labour party, also made the party determine to ensure its due influence on the economic organisations created and advance by it as well as the command in the struggles. For this purpose, they assembled the trades unions organisations of the Czech social democrats at a central spot in Prague, in order to establish and maintain complete uniformity of purpose between the party and the trades unions. But in this they encountered the opposition of the German comrades. From the circumstance that a part of the Czech working-men are members of the official trades unions which are united to the Vienna central trades unions, and through these are in close connection with the German Party, the Vienna central union concludes that Czech working-men belonging to trades unions organisa-

tions, must belong to the official unions affiliated to the Vienna central, or else they will be regarded as not belonging to any organisation.

When certain groups of Czech working-men, in order to maintain the close relationship between the Czech party and the trades unions, were obliged to create their own trades unions, as the German comrades forbade their union with the Prague central union, these same German comrades declared this to be a splitting up of their trades unions organisations and denied all solidarity with the Czech trades unions. According to these views of the German comrades, the Czech social democratic party of Czech working-men organised into trades unions, would be completely cut off, the uniformity of the Party and the trades unions upset and the free development of the Czech social democracy completely arrested in consequence of this discord. Therefore, their task of advancing the class struggle of the Czech proletariat would never be carried out.

In these attempts the members of the official union of Brünn, affiliated to the Vienna trades unions central, went so far as to endeavour to get the management of he Czech political organisation into their hands. This attack directed against the foundations of the Party, had naturally to be repulsed, in order to preserve the uniformity of the movement.

For this reason the Vienna trades union central publishes in Brünn a paper (they intend to publish another in Prague) for the purpose of troubling

the agreement of the Czech Party with the trades unions and of crippling the activity of the Czech social democratic labour movement. By this means the cooperative societies are made subject to the trades unions in Austria, which would certainly be of te greatest danger to the further development of the entire social democracy in this country. It is not so very long ago that after many a hard battle in this country, anarchism among the labourers was stamped out.

In addition to the trades unions organisations, the Party is doing its utmost at present to further the development of the cooperative organisations. But in this case also the same feeling is shown by the German comrades as with the trades unions. The German cooperatives demand the complete subjection of the Czech cooperatives to the Vienna central and accuse the Prague comrades of acting wrongly because they have included the Czech cooperatives in their central in Prague and have combined with the Czech social democratic party so as to proceed together.

In spite of these regrettable conflicts directed against the existence of the socialist International, the political and economic activity of the Czech and German proletariat combined was in no way disturbed. The uniformity of Social democracy in Austria has been splendidly maintained in spite of the complicated and very difficult conditions of the struggle of the class conscious proletariat.

The bye-elections which took place in several districts did not make any alteration in the

strength of the Party as regards parliamentary representation.

In 1908 at the elections for the Bohemian Diet and in spite of the Census elections for the townwards, our Party gained 21,649 votes, two social democratic candidates got into the second election, one in the decisive one.

In Moravia, where an election reform has been brought about by the appointing of a general fifth ward, the Czech Party has 5 social democratic representatives in the Diet. Their activity was directed in the first place against the complete domination of the clergy on public life in clerical Moravia, and further they worked for the protection of liberty of instruction and the abolition of payment in the boardschools, which are in constant danger from the clergy. Furthermore the social democratic deputies did their utmost to gain a reform in the county council elections, which are at present connected with the tax-results and are executed verbally. Our comrades also turned their attention to the increasing rise in the prices of food and rents, and at their demand that the Diet should take steps for the protection of the people, they forced the bourgeois parties to unmask and to shew themselves in their true colours as a single reactionary mass, without distinction of nationality, religious belief or race.

The Czech social democrats also gained entrance in the communes (town councils), although workingmen are excluded from voting. In the last two years they took part in the elections in 786 communities and were successful in 564.

As far as statistics go, and same cannot be by any means looked upon as correct, the Czech social democratic Party has 1621 representatives in the communities, out of which 19 are in the I, 163 in the II and 1412 in the third body of electors, and of which 15 are mayors of communities, 12 local mayors and a considerable number are members of the muncipal council, members of the education board etc.

OUR PRESS. The development of our press has kept pace with the rapid development of the social democratic movement. The Czech social democracy has altogether 80 newspapers. Out of this number 26 are political (3 are published daily, 1 three times 3 twice and the others once a week), 42 are professional, 12 serve other Party needs. Thus the Party has a scientific review the « Akademie » a literary paper, two satyric papers, one young people's and a children's paper, etc.

These papers were confiscated 311 times within the last two years and the editors were prosecuted in 56 cases, in 45 cases they were sentenced to 3 months and 19 days emprisonment and 2000 K. fines.

In addition to this the Party has a press commission whose duty it is to publish Party documents. In addition to scientific books they publish Party calendars, May and other festival broadsheets, many seasonable pamphlets on current subjects. During the last year this Press commission

has published Party documents and pamphlets in one edition amounting to 580,000 copies.

The Party has also records containing all material for the preservation of the Czech social democratic movement and its development.

THE TRADES UNIONS MOVEMENT. Since 1892 there is more activity as regards trades unions among the Czech workingmen. Many of the older labour educational and assistance institutions were turned into modern trades unions, which were supposed to help in the wages-struggles. Some of these trades-unions were afiliated with similar trades union of other nations and thus national trades unions were formed, mostly managed from Vienna and eventually by the German comrades. Others refused to join the Vienna central in consideration of their funds for assistance purposes and also because they recognised that the head quarters neglected the agitation, wages and educational needs of the Czech workingmen who belonged to the Vienna central.

The professionnally organised Czech workingmen, in conjunction with others represented in the international, formed their own trade union commission in Prague and this was acknowledged at two international conferences of secretaries of trades unions, by assigning to them their own independent delegates, in the same way as other nations. It was only at the international conference in Amsterdam in 1905, that from a national form

and regulation point of view, only the Vienna trades union commission was allowed to be represented. This cancelled the equal right of the Czechs, enjoyed up to this time, and the Czech proletariat was relegated, in the trades union international, to those smaller and industrially undeveloped nations, which are not allowed to hold equal rights, enjoyed by others. As the representative of the Vienna trades unions commission was the chief instrument in the adoption of this decision, all the bitterness of those who were thus eliminated, turned against that system which denied to workingmen other than German, equal rights in their own professional organisation as well as in the trades union international. The antagonism of the Vienna trades union commission against those who had not joined the central Austian unions, or had resigned their membership in these because of the refusal as to equal rights, found vent in requesting colleagues of other nations to have no mutual dealings with the Czech trades unions and not to consider them either as comrades or as organised colleagues.

In consequence of this draconian measure the Vienna trades union commission, declared by the conference of secretaries in Amsterdam to be the sole representative of professionally organised proletariat in Austria, incurs the increasing oppositi n of the Czech working men and agreement is rendered impossible.

The trades union commission in Prague had :

	In the years		
	1907	1908	1909
Trades unions organisations	55	54	56
Number of members in same	71,101	65,910	69,337
Independent Czech trades unions	34	32	35
of these	40,757	38,356	40,945
With a membership poll	737,744	737,578	920,678
Receipts of these unions K.	629,954	683,715	694,505
Expenses in K.	563,512	621,702	711,961
Net amount	301,206	381,999	345,322
Paid out for suprort of members	72,460	107.074	106,587
Of this to unemployed	158,393	138,074	131,453
Receipts of oppositionfund	156,807	94,124	120,689
Expenses of »	300,273	376,751	468,369
Net amount of »			

The agenda of the Czech trades union commission has developed in the last 3 years as follows :

	1907	1908	1909	Total
Meetings of the commission	583	632	730	1900
Represented at Congresses and lectures by speakers	1217	1437	1563	4217
Suits for arbitration in accidents	426	404	425	1255
Legal advice in writing or verbal	5134	2703	3564	11401
Legal assistance at the expense of the commission for members	82	34	38	154
For agitation Crowns	5800	3744	3422	12966
Negotiations with workingmen in wages affairs	118	128	133	379
With success for workingmen	11927	6633	7943	26503
In strikes intervention with employers	62	42	32	136
These interventions were successful for workingmen	11924	2773	1822	16539
For support in strikes the commission paid the organisations Kr.	8378	8926	10155	27459

During its existence from 1897 to the end of 1909 the trades unions commission paid to the organisations as assistance in the wages struggles 227.126 Kr.—.

Wage movements and strikes are kept up by each trades union at their own expense and risk.

In the territory of the trades unions the following numbers of workingmen participated :

	1907	1908	1909
In the presentation of requests for more wages and strikes	30,760	22,[illegible]60	23,100
An agreement without a strike was arrived at for workingmen	24,487	16,115	11,807
By strikes in which workingmen took part	6,273	6,147	11,293

and by agreement a curtailing of the working day was arrived at from 1/2 to 18 hours weekly and an increase of wage from 3 to 33 %.

The trades unions taking part in the wages struggles paid out for strikes and their victims in 1907, K. 267,148, in 1908 86.862 K., in 1909 K. 149.361.

With the union of the employers in the building trade, collective agreements were made for from 30.000 to 35.000 workingmen in the following branches : bricklayers, builders, carpenters, stonemasons, stove makers.

In the same way collective agreements were made in metal trades, wood trade and millers and also with many landowners. There are also a large number of small traders who have concluded collective agreements in their cooperatives with their meetings.

WOMENS MOVEMENT. — Since the last international congress there has been much improvement. The women's trades unions and political organisations show great progress, although there is still room for improvement. In Bohemia 18.000

women have trades unions and 6.000 political organisations. These women are actively engaged part in the work of organisation and education. They take a prominent part in all political demonstrations of the Party, especially in those against the increase in price of food, the clericalising of the schcols, against the increasing military duty, and the colossal rise of indirect taxation.

Open meetings were organised for the obtaining of political equality for general and equal right of vote in all representative governing bodies, and against the vandalism carried on in the Bohemian Diet.

The union of home workingwomen organised many public meetings for the organisation of the servant-girls of Prague and other towns of Bohemia. A very promising beginning has been made in the organisation of these workingwomen whose lot is of the hardest. The union presented a petition to the Bohemian Diet for the repeal of the servant decree, but in consequence of its unactivity this has not been dealt with yet.

The Czech social democratic women are the first to bring out a paper, a weekly women's paper « Zensky List » (Woman's paper) which considerably facilitates their work of agitation and explanation among women. The weekly edition of this paper comprises 10.000 numbers.

This year the organisation of the young women was stongly taken up. For this purpose a special agitation pamphlet was published. The organisation of the young women goes hand in hand with

that of the lads, whose mutual work shows great success especially in recent times and smooths the way of socialism among Czech women. It is to be hoped that at the next congress of the socialist international we shall be able report more positive results.

THE YOUNG PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT. — Its organisation and strength. The Czech social democratic young Party is divided into two organised bodies : free sections of the political local organisations of the Party and gymnastic clubs.

According to the resolutions adopted at the Party-day in Pilsen 1907, at every local political organisation section for the young are created as a part of the local organisation. These section are conducted by a committee of 5 members chosen by the young people and the labour gymnastic club, and it is the duty of this committee to direct the educational and agitatorial activity of the young party. Thus the organisation of the young people has a certain autonomy, but it is subject to the political local organisation which bears all expense in connection with agitation. The agitation of the young people throughout the country is conducted by a commission chosen from the young party and which has its branches respectively, in Prague for Bohemia in Brünn for Moravia, and inVienna for Lower Austria.

At the end of 1907 the young Party organisation in Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia and Lower Austria had 224 sections with 6221 members of which 969

were girls. In 1908 in Bohemia alone there were already 380 sections which included 7139 youths and 2196 girls. Statistics for 1909 are not yet complete, but already show considerable progress.

In Moravia end of 1909 there were in 3 circuits (the fourth did not give a report) 40 sections with 610 members.

In Lower Austria in 1909 there were 8 sections in Vienna with 300 apprentices. Their activity is principally educational.

The young Party movement, besides considering organisation questions — its relation to the party and regulation of mutual regulation with the labour gymnastic clubs — gives its attention to the struggle for professional adult education and to the anti-military propaganda, during the period subsequent to acceptance for the army and marching in. In the struggle for the reform of professional adult education — changing the hours of evening and Sunday school to working hours during the week — favourable progress was made. The town of Prague voted half a million crowns for building a technical adult school and according to statistics of the land commission in the school year 1907/8 out of 310 Czech adult schools, 140 were open on week-days until 6 o'clock in the evening, 23 schools were open in the morning and 29 closed on Sundays.

The anti-military agitation was carried on by means of public and private meetings, by the distribution of broadsheets in which the young Party was given to understand the devastating effect of

militarism. The result of this agitation in the first place was that the lads did not give themselves over to drunkenness and excesses after they had been passed by the medical officer and were to enter the army. But this is looked upon by the authorities, especially in Bohemia and Moravia, as a great danger to Austrian patriotism and the social democrats who have to serve were prosecuted, because they are conspicuously quiet and calm... At the beginning those recruits who appeared with red carnations in their buttonhole, were fined 10/20 Crowns, but as this was of no use, all those who came to be passed for the army in black suits or only with black ties were punished with 2-5 days arrest, on the principle of the flogging commission. In fact all this is considered a dangerous demonstration against militarism. The punishments are reported to the civil authorities of the military divisions which the antimilitarists are to join, in order that they may be looked upon as dangerous social democrats. This persecution of the young party however, proves to be the best means of agitation. Every year the number of those who give expression to their antimilitary sentiments increases. These appear not only dressed in mourning but drive up in carriages draped in black with a band playing funeral marches. An excellent means of agitation against militarism. The officials with their keen scent for opinions, have become quite convinced that the quietest and most capable recruits are mostly social democrats.

The Austrian polical and legal authorities are

developing a feverish activity in persecuting antimilitary propaganda. Anti-military meetings are prohibited, every antimilitary turn of speech on the part of a speaker brings about the dissolution of the meeting, the clubs are dissolved, their property confiscated, their officials accused, numerous houses searched, big suits that attract attention are brought against anti-militarists. It was especially bad during the war rumours of 1909.

The young Party has its own organ « Sbornik Mladeze » (Young people's paper) which is however the property of the Party, and they occasionally publish agitation pamphlets. In order methodically to establish the education of the young people in socialism an education and social protection programme was drawn up, which not only offers instruction to the apprentices but also social protection.

The Czech socialist young people organisation is quite equal to its task. They are energetically carrying on methodical socialist propaganda and education work among the young people, so as to educate them to class consciousness and the socialist class struggle, in order that they may, when the time comes, continue with fresh force the struggle of the older Party for the victory of socialism and bring it to a successful issue. The older Party are carrying on this work so as to ensure the future of the Party as well as victory for socialism.

LABOUR GYMNASTIC CLUBS. — One of the newest component parts of our Party are the labour gymnastic clubs, which are developing rapidly. 13 years ago, when the Czech bourgeois parties were fiercely raging against the social democrats, this movement did not even spare the bourgeois Sokol gymnastic clubs, their hitherto commonplace quiet existence was engulfed in the storm ; socialism penetrated even here. Our comrades who revolted against the heretical turn of socialdemocracy, were turned out of the former « democratic gymnastic clubs ». And so they formed their own labour gymnastic clubs.

At first they did not believe that anything would come of it but the tenacious and enduring work showed surprising success especially within the last two years. In 1903 we had 31 labour gymnastic clubs, in 1909 already 372. Their total activity within the last three years has been as follows :

Year	Clubs	Membres	Apprentices	Pupils	Arranged lectures	Excursions	Subscri to to the Telocvi Ruch gym. pa
1907	175	6378	1220	2124	323	343	4419
1908	302	11000	1850	4250	470	513	7500
1909	372	14890	2640	5320	549	760	10000

The number of members is 80 % of the young people, also a strong army of apprentices, which certainly betokens a considerable reinforcement for the future. The association organ was to a great extent compulsorily introduced in the clubs. The association also publishes textbooks for the leaders in the gymnastic exercises and calendars.

In many clubs, debate evenings were instituted for pupils apprentices and members, in which the lads were prepared for entrance in the professional and political organisations. Among the girls also the labour gymnastic clubs have gained 2000 members.

Every year 14 active courses for gymnastic teachers are organised, in which the theoretic and practical direction of the exercises are taught by professors and lectures are given on socialist principles, so that these courses present themselves as a model school for athletic and mental education. The Czech workingmen gymnastic clubs have also 5 clubs in Amerika, which have become meeting-places for our comrades who have emigrated to America.

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT, or the organisation of consumers, has only lately taken firm hold among Czech comrades. It is true that in the sixties of last century attempts were made to found food societies on the Schulze-Delitz model, but as the movement did not have the proper means of direction nor a sound basis, it soon flickered out. Later on here and there new attempts were made, but they were of no importance. In their battle for emancipation the Czech working class devoted all their energies to the political and trades union movement.

In 1907 the Party Congress of the Czech social democratic labour party resolved to consider the cooperative organisations as a part of the Party. Since then the Czech working-men are taking more

interest in the cooperative movement. In the same year the « Czech-Slav Central Association of Food, product and economic cooperatives in Prague » was founded. (Central-Verband tschecho-slavischer Konsum, Produktiv-und Wirtschaftsgenossenschaften in Prag »). The object of this association was in addition to agitation and organisation activity, the compulsory revision of the cooperatives in the sense of the law of June 10, 1903, according to which each cooperative is obliged to undergo an association-revision every two years. With the cooperation of the association the « Wholesale purchase Company Jaros & Co » was founded in 1909, for the purpose of organising the purchases for the affiliated cooperatives.

On December 31, 1909, the association had 125 cooperatives with 30,000 members and the turnover was about 15 millions. The nett profits amounted to 300,000 K. The working capital of all the cooperatives amounted to 517,000 K., the reserve fund 195,000 K. The different departments of the cooperatives were as follows : Food clubs 88, labour bakeries 9, labour printing shops 3, sausage-works 2, working men dwellings 13, for the building of workingmen's cottages 4, savings banks, 3, transport 2, and one cooperative for each of the following : hatworkers, bookbinders and coalminers. The cooperatives had shops in 185 places and employed 624 workers. At the end of April 1910 the number of cooperatives increased to 147 with about 35,000 members.

The central association publishes a paper «Druzstevnik » (the cooperativist) with an edition of 150 numbers for the information of those who are working in the cooperatives, moreover another paper « Prukopnik » (Pioneer) in an edition of 15,000 copies for the members of the food clubs.

The Whole sale Purchase Society began working on September 1, 1909 and in the first 8 months of its activity the sales amounted to 800,000 K. The Czech cooperative movement, in sofar as it is organised with the Central association in Prague, is absolutely social democratic and is intimately connected with the Party. Certain cooperatives devote a part of their profit to object of the Party and trades unions. The leading principle of the newly formed cooperatives is : To sell only to members, payment in cash, and credit the nett profits as savings. Recently, in consequence of the rise in price of food, the Czech working class has become very much interested in the cooperative movement and in many places food cooperatives are being created. Each new cooperative must have the consent of the cooperative association and of the managing authorities, so that new establishments can only be formed where the conditions are favourable. The association is member of the « International cooperative association » in London. The association is in correspondence with the cooperative associations in Germany, England and Switzerland. Through the intermediary of the Wholesale Purchase Society Jaros & Comp, business relations are maintained with the Wholesale purchase societies of the English food unions.

EDUCATION AFFAIRS. — The Czech Party founded in 1897 the « Labour academy », an educational union for all Czech-Slav labour clubs in Bohemia » (Delnicka Akademie, vzdelavaci jednota vsech ceskoslovanskych spolku delnickych v Cechach). The work of this instruction was crowned with success and very fruithul. However, its real flight only took place from 1905 to 1907.

The labour academy provides for the systematic education and improvement of the Czech labour class by means of culture and education lectures and lecture cycles, instruction and education courses in Prague and in the country, keeps up a socialist central library which containes 5000 volumes and is used by the entire working class of Prague, 50 travelling libraries of 25 volumes each, which are lent to impecunious clubs in the country, and a general socialist reading-hall, which is open all day long to the whole of the organised working class of Prague and its environs. Furthermore, since 1908 a paper is published « Delnicka Osveta » (labour education) which deals with the educational interest and club life of the working class, and from time to time correspondence for reviewers, plays, collections of couplets monologues for the workingsmen's stage are published. In addition to this they undertake the purchase of suitable books for club libraries, give advice and help in everything pertaining to question of education.

The labour academy is an association of clubs and at present has over 40,000 membres, who are also membres of 400 of our organisations, clubs and

institutions. Concerts are also arranged for the workingmen at low prices. About 4000 books were purchased for the clubs. Debating evenings attended by reporters were also held in which general important questions of the labour movement were discussed so as to obtain explanation and agreement.

The labour academy has several sections, notably the free association of labour teetotallers, who are fighting against alcoholism among workingmen, a free association of social democrat students, which unites students in a common task of work among the working class, and a tourist section which undertakes the arranging of excursions in the country combined with scientific and other lectures.

Prague, June-1910.

The Executive Comittee of the Czech-Slav social democratic labour party.